

Report of the Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party to the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen on the Party's Activity since the Stuttgart Congress.

1. The Parliamentary Activity of the Social-Democratic Group in the German Reichstag.

The report we submitted in 1907 to the International Congress at Stuttgart was written under the impression that a change in the politics of the German Empire would soon take place. Prince Bülow, the then chancellor, desired to try the policy of combination. He dissolved the Reichstag in 1906 and had, according to his own opinions, obtained a success in the elections. He found that the Conservatives, National-Liberals and Radicals were ready to form a "block" or combination of parties. The majority of this block, which consisted of 206 members, were Conservative and National-Liberal Agrarians. The Agrarians, however, were not at all willing to sacrifice any of their principles (which were born of purely egotistical motives) either for the sake of reputation, or for an individual statesman. Therefore the only policy which would possibly be pursued by this block would be such as has hitherto been followed by the Conservatives and Centre.

The only persons placed in a favourable situation were the "Junkers". They formed the majority of the "block" and therefore were in a position to demand that a policy according to their views should be pursued.

If the Liberals could be induced to assist in creating a majority for Conservative motions, all would be well. If, however, the Liberals would refuse, the "Junkers" would still have at their disposal the votes of the Centre and the Polish members.

The Centre tries, in the industrial districts, to make out that it is their first and principal task to safeguard the rights of the Catholic Church. This party, in fact, uses all the means at the disposal of the Church for their agitation purposes. The few industrial constituencies and the votes of the workers are merely used as a pretext to veil the policy of agrarian interests. The centre decides always in favour of the landlords in such cases where antagonism between the interests of agrarians and manufacturers, and between workers and landlords exists. This is quite natural because the Centre polls more than half of its votes in urban districts, viz., in districts of less than 2 000 inhabitants and, among the 105 constituencies represented by members of the Centre, there are scarcely one dozen where industrial interests prevail. The attitude of the Centre depends on the programme of the Unions of Christian Peasants, which stand under the leadership of Graf von Spee. These Unions try to compete with a Federation of Peasants which has been formed for Northern Germany, by upholding the most exaggerated demands.

The Junkers were thus able to look forward with an easy mind to the development of things. The "block" policy therefore was handled in the legislature only as long as such matters which did not hurt the interests of their class were handled, for instance, the vote of the Budget, the new Association law, a revision of the Bank laws and so forth. Bülow had also resolved to keep out of this discussion all questions where no unity between Conservatives and Liberals was to be expected. The real conditions, however, are far more powerful than the will of the ministers. There are a good many questions that cannot be put aside at will.

There was much political agitation, when on Oct. 28th, 1908, the "Daily Telegraph" published an interview of the Emperor Wilhelm II with an Englishman. According to this article, the Emperor had said that the great mass of the German people were not well disposed towards England and that he was in the minority in his own country, as regards his friendship towards England. The above-named article also contained other statements which called forth lively opposition on the part of the German population, with the effect that it was believed autocratic government would be abolished and the Reichstag would obtain larger constitutional rights. We profited by this favourable occasion to demand a change in the constitution of the Empire, claiming full responsibility of the ministers. We also requested that the consent of the Reichstag should be necessary for a declaration of war. Our middle classes, however, live in a state of continual agitation on account of the awakening of the proletariat, and they possess very little self-confidence. An

extension of the rights of the Parliament would necessarily lead to an extension of the power of social democracy. The liberal bourgeoisie prefer to content themselves with the rôle of train-bearer to the feudal absolutistic state, instead of defending the rights of the people side by side with social democrats. This action of the Reichstag which had been brought about by agitation of the people did not lead to any definite result.

The beautiful block-dream very soon vanished. This was brought about by the policy with regard to taxes.

The financial condition of the Empire has become entirely hopeless on account of senseless armaments. The expenditure of the Empire for military purposes has increased, during the last twenty years as follows:

	1889	1908
	Mk.	Mk.
Army	461 036 057	855 868 451
Navy	51 069 080	348 973 677
Military Pensions	33 711 086	107 495 775
Interest on the National Debt	37 483 500	154 784 524
Total	583 299 723	1 467 122 427

This increase still continues, for our military and navy bills provide for a continual increase. There are also technical improvements made daily, demanding a still further increase of these expenditures. It was believed in 1898 and 1900, when the new Navy Bills were passed and when the number of men-of-war to be built up to the year 1907 was determined, that the cost of an iron-clad would be about 20 000 000 marks. The newest type of this ship, however, requires an

outlay of about 50 000 000 marks. The cost of maintenance of these ships has increased in the same proportion.

The tax-paying capabilities of the people, however, are strained to the utmost, not only by the increasing demands of the Empire, the States and the communities but also by the protective tariffs by means of which the great landlords and capitalists get thousands of millions out of the pockets of the consumers and also out of the Treasury. The amount of these sums can be easily proved by the various articles. In 1908, for instance, there has been sold in Germany 8 902 180 tons of rye and 5 674 155 tons of wheat. Every ton of rye is 50 marks dearer in Germany than abroad and every ton of wheat is 55 marks dearer than abroad. As soon as this difference between the prices disappears, then the corn is sold abroad and the exporters receive in return so-called "import certificates", i. e. cheques to the amount of 50 marks for every ton of rye or 55 marks for every ton of wheat. These cheques are, within the next 6 months, accepted as cash, by the Custom Offices for the payment of duties on corn, pulse, petroleum and coffee. It follows from this that the rye consumed in Germany has been 445 000 000 marks dearer than it would have been without these corn duties, whilst the wheat has been 312 000 000 marks dearer owing to this system.

The same is the case with the other grains, pulse and so on. The Treasury pays also part of these costs which disappear into the pockets of the great landowners. The Empire uses large quantities of grain for the army and the 112 000 military horses, and consequently pays the exalted prices brought about

by the tariffs. It must be added that in years with a good harvest more import cheques are given out by the Customs Office than money is received for duties on the above-named articles. In 1909 for instance we imported 581 987 tons of rye, whilst 1 248 814 tons have been exported. The import duties thereon amounted to 31 099 350 marks but the import cheques cost the Empire 62 440 700 marks. The rye duty, therefore, brought a deficit to the customs of 31 341 350, not including the cost of management. The case is the same with manufactured articles. The big iron manufacturers, for instance, are organised in syndicates. They charge to their customers the prices of the world's market, plus customs duties. The duty on pig iron is M. 10 per ton. In 1908 Germany has consumed 13 016 135 tons of pig iron, out of which the German manufacturers have produced 12 803 782 tons. The 103 works which produced pig iron had therefore an extra income of 128 037 820 marks, through this duty on iron. This sum has been paid by the German consumers of iron.

It is obvious that it must be very difficult to find new taxes to fill the treasury in a country where the tax-paying capabilities of the people are so much abused by all sorts of customs duties, for the sole benefit of the big landowners and manufacturers. But new taxes have to be found if it is not considered desirable to limit the military expenditure. One thing was certain — the annual income was about 500 000 marks less than the annual expenditure, and the money therefore had to be provided for somehow. The Government therefore proposed new taxes of which about 400 000 000 marks had to be paid by the large masses

of the population, whilst only 92 000 000 was to be derived from succession duties; however, the big land-owners would also have been liable to pay these duties and therefore the Junkers opposed it. They were joined in their efforts by the Catholic agrarians of the Centre party. The Liberals, however, were prepared to vote for the succession duty. It has not been found possible to get an arrangement between Liberals and Conservatives on this point, and according to Bülow's policy of the block, it ought to have been adjourned. The financial situation of the Empire, however, did not permit of such an adjournment. The block, therefore, fell to pieces and its originator vanished from the scene. Now the Catholic and Protestant agrarians united fraternally to exploit the nation; the 500 000 000 marks duty were therefore, put on the consumers of tobacco, spirits, beer, matches, coffee, tea and so on. From the propaganda point of view, these taxes have done more for us than millions of vehement speeches.

The effects of the new duties were all the more irritating, because they were decided upon at a time when the workers had still much to suffer under the economic depression.

The tariff reformers often used the conditions in Germany as an argument to prove the utility of protection, exhibiting only the best side of the question. We shall therefore try to make a few unprejudiced statements on this point. The financial reports of the Trade Corporations give a sound basis for the study of the case. They give the exact number of workers insured against accident. The number of these insured workers is bound to increase, not because the popu-

lation continually grows, but also because in many trades only those establishments are covered by this insurance law where at least 10 workers are employed or where mechanism driven by elementary forces are employed. The number of establishments, according to the census of trade, does not increase, but decreases. It follows therefrom that the number of establishments with more than ten workers increases disproportionately fast, considering the general growth of the population. The number of insured industrial workers increases on an average by 400 000 per year.

The industrial crisis commenced in the building trade already in 1907. The number of workers employed in these trades amounted to 1 376 208 in 1906 and to 1 297 922 in 1907, and dropped further to 1 260 270 in 1908. According to the increase of population, the number of workers in the building trades ought to have grown by 1,5 % but instead of showing an annual increase of 206,43 workers in the building trades we find that their number has decreased by 115 938 during the last two years. All the 66 trade corporations combined reported during 1908 a decrease of 100 595 insured workers, whilst there should have been an increase of about 400 000. The total number of workers insured against accidents was 9 018 367 in 1907 and this number dropped in 1908 to 8 917 772.

The number of unemployed chiefly in the big cities and industrial centres increased rapidly in 1908; our comrades therefore addressed a question to the Government in the Reichstag asking what it intended to do against unemployment.

The Government could not deny the seriousness of unemployment. The large liners were lying idle in the docks, their crews having been discharged, new ships were not commenced by the ship-building yards, the casual wards were overcrowded. The Party and the Trade Unions organised a census of the unemployed in Berlin and the suburbs on Feb. 14 th, 1909, when they ascertained that the number of the unemployed was 101 300. The wages decreased, while the price of food-stuffs advanced rapidly, thereby continually adding to the number of the unemployed, because, the workers necessarily had to restrict their consumption of manufactured articles, on account of their smaller income and increased expenditure for food-stuffs. The price of grain reached an unexampled height in the spring of 1909. Our comrades in Parliament then asked that the institution of import cheques be abolished, that the grain duties be abolished or temporarily suspended, when the price of grain should surpass those rates fixed by that famous motion Kanitz in the middle of the nineties.

There has never been a session with less positive result on the field of social politics than the era of Bülow. The Government, compelled by the Berne Convention, introduced an amendment of the trade laws which contained a number of alterations. A special committee, which had been appointed to study this amendment, proposed a number of alterations which had not been suggested by the Government, but after all only those paragraphs which had been arranged by the Berne Convention were passed at the second and third reading. This amendment became law on Dec. 28 th, 1908. It first of all did away with the

word "factory" that had been used in old trade laws. The protective measures provided by this law affected hitherto only factories. The employers usually pretended that their establishments were not factories, when they were prosecuted for contravention of the protective regulations. The court frequently accepted this interpretation and discharged the defendants, and the court, in its judgments, sometimes tried to give a definition of the word "factory". On reading these definitions, one might be inclined to doubt whether factories really exist at all. This inconvenience has now disappeared, the word "factory" having been replaced by "establishment". The above-named protective regulations are now extended to all establishments with less than ten workers, as well as to all establishments with less than ten workers, when they employ elementary forces.

The hours of labour for female workers have been fixed at ten and at eight on the eves of Sundays and holidays. They, as well as males under 16, are debarred from labour between eight at night and six in the morning, while under the old law they were not allowed to work from half-past eight p. m. to half-past five a. m.

A bill on Chambers of Labour has recently been introduced in the Reichstag. A bill on home work has already passed the committee stage. This bill, however, only gives new powers to the various authorities. The only compulsory regulation in this bill provides that the workers shall be enabled to learn the actual rate of payment when the work is given out to them. The federal council, the federated governments and the police authorities will be empowered to extend to home industries the protective regulations existing for large industrial establishments.

A law affecting employment agencies has recently been passed by the Reichstag. It is hoped that this law will to some extent abolish the exploitation of the unemployed by the employment agencies.

A peculiar law has been passed by the Reichstag entitled the "Potash Law". This law, for the first time in the history of German legislation, deals with the question of cartels and syndicates, and what is more this law enables a syndicate, which otherwise would have fallen to pieces, to maintain itself. The governments of Prussia, Anhalt and Mecklenburg were especially interested in this law, because potash mines are owned by them. They had to accede to a number of protective measures, which are not found in any other German law, for the benefit of workers in those mines.

The "clou" of the German social policy is to be, according to the opinion of the bureaucracy, the new national insurance law. This bill, consisting of 1754 paragraphs, has just been laid before the Reichstag. This bill and the appended "elaboration" consisting of about 1000 pages are without doubt very interesting documents for students of political science, but their contents unfortunately are of very little value for the workers. This bill first of all tries to create a somewhat more uniform organisation of the boards that are charged to survey the good working of the insurance schemes. This part of the bill is dealt with in the first 176 paragraphs. The next 386 paragraphs are on sick insurance. The old sick insurance law had only 123 paragraphs.

The wording has been changed very little and still less important are the improvements. Domestic ser-

vants, agricultural and home workers are to be included in the compulsory insurance schemes. The federal states, under the old law, had the power to extend the compulsory insurance scheme to the above-named classes by a separate statute. A number of federal states and districts had made use of this provision. If, however, under the old law the compulsory insurance scheme were extended to these classes, then they enjoyed the same privileges as other workers who were insured, while under the new law they will be under less favourable conditions. Compulsory insurance will furthermore be extended to apothecaries' assistants and apprentices, stage and orchestral members, teachers, private tutors and the crews of vessels employed in inland navigation.

The principal alterations for those hitherto insured will be as follows: — whilst at present the employer pays one-third and the employee two-thirds of the whole subscription, in future both parties will pay an equal share. In 1907 for instance the workers paid in subscriptions 225 273 100 marks, whilst the employers contributed 106 262 300 marks. This apparent gain of 60 000 000 marks for the workers, however, is met on the other side by an immense loss of privileges for them.

The right of representation on the managing boards at present is divided according to the subscriptions paid. The employers elect one-third and the workers elect two-thirds of the members of the various boards. The workers have the right and the power to increase the benefits of the insurance funds above the legally provided minimum and they have made extensive use of this privilege. This will not be possible any more

if the employers are soon to control one-half of the boards. Apart from some ameliorations relating to the extension of benefits to women during their confinement, the government bill contains numerous deteriorations compared with the regulations in force at present.

The much-needed uniform organisation will not be achieved. The name of the inferior communal insurance fund will disappear, but still more inferior rural insurance funds will be created in its stead. The insurance funds in the building trades and of the federated states will also be abolished, whilst so many difficulties will be made concerning the voluntary Supplementary Funds that they are bound to disappear as well. In future, we will have local sick insurance funds, rural funds, staff funds and corporation funds. No reason founded on the purpose of the sick insurance scheme could be stated for this division of forces. This division, however, is needed in order to limit the rights of the workers in the election of members to the insurance boards. The employers henceforth are to have one-half of the votes in local staff and corporation insurance funds, and they will rule the rural sick funds entirely, the workers having no representation on these funds. The workers consequently will always be in the minority.

A uniform insurance scheme which would also be in the interest of those coming within the scope of the law is also avoided in order to permit the sick insurance funds to be used against the workers for political purposes. The 653 paragraphs following are made up of the five insurance laws in force at present and their contents have suffered the least change.

Then come the laws for invalid insurance, supplemented by a socalled insurance of widows and orphans. Although the invalid insurance law has apparently been very little changed this part of the insurance scheme has been burdened with a very important task, viz., to provide the larger part of the money necessary for the support of the widows and orphans. This indeed seems to be the chief point, because the whole insurance of widows and orphans is simply a question of finance. There is no difference of opinion as to the desirability and necessity of providing for widows and orphans.

The amount necessary for this scheme can be easily calculated according to the number of widows and orphans per 1000 inhabitants. There are on the average per 1000 inhabitants 41.75 widows and 55.22 children under 15 years of age. According to the last census of trades and professions in every 1000 inhabitants there were 510.3 employees, workers and servants; thus every 12 of this number would have to provide for 1 widow and 1.34 children.

The main question discussed by political economists and insurance experts is how to adequately finance the scheme. The centre tried to mix up in 1902 this popular question with the very unpopular question of tariffs. They declared that the whole surplus derived from the tariff on agrarian produce would be set aside for the purposes of widows and orphans insurance, but when it came to keep this promise then only the surplus duties on rye, wheat, oats and barley, live stock, meat and dairy produce appeared under the promised heading, out of the total 130 articles of agrarian produce affected by tariffs. The centre calculated that the surplus of these duties would amount to

91,000,000 marks annually. This sum, as well as yearly interest, was to be accumulated for the next five years. After this time, so it was suggested, this surplus with interest as well as subscriptions to the amount of 91,000,000 mk. was to be appropriated. These propositions were passed by the committee against the expectations of the centre, and this party thereupon immediately changed its attitude withdrawing from their motion the articles oats, barley and dairy produce, and substituting the word "surplus per head of the population" for surplus. Thus the national exchequer might reckon on an income of 1.49 marks per head of the population. The national exchequer has an increasing income according to the growth of the population. The centre also refused to support any more levying of subscriptions. This law has been in force since March 1st, 1906. Up to to-day it has provided the following for widows and orphans: —

In 1906	Nil
„ 1907	42,000,000 marks
„ 1908	Nil
„ 1909	Nil

It became then obvious that the object of the law could not be achieved in this way. The government thereupon made another proposition. It suggests first of all using the funds of the invalid insurance scheme, as this branch has more money than is needed. From 1891 to 1907 the following sums have been contributed to the invalid insurance funds: —

By subscriptions of the employers	1 084 719 500	Mk.
„ „ „ „ workers	1 084 719 500	„
„ interest	416 088 100	„
Total	2 585 527 100	Mk.

The expenditure amounted to: —	
Pensions and returned subscriptions	
up to Dec. 31, 1907	1 015 896 000 Mk.
Management expenses	165 563 400 "
	Total 1 181 459 400 Mk.

The empire has also contributed under the form of national subsidies to these pensions and returned subscriptions, to the amount of 485 204 400 marks. The accumulated capital at the end of 1907 amounted to 1 404 067 700 marks.

The following methods are proposed as to financing the widow's and orphans' insurance scheme.

1. By far the greater proportion of the widows and orphans are not to have a pension; for a widow will only be entitled to a pension if she is at the same time invalid, or in other words so generally incapable, physically or mentally, that she is not in a position to earn one-third of the average earnings of the women in her class.

2. Some money is to be found by simply abolishing the re-payment of subscriptions. Hitherto, the women were entitled to get their subscriptions returned when they became married. Pensioners of the accident insurance funds who for this reason were not entitled to an invalid pension enjoyed the same privilege. Widows and orphans of deceased members might also claim the subscriptions of the deceased. A grand total of 77181600 marks has been expended for these purposes up to 1907.

3. It is proposed to increase the subscriptions from 14, 20, 24, 30, 36 pfennigs respectively per week to 16, 24, 30, 38, 40 pfennigs respectively per week. This will bring an increase of from 45 to 50 millions per year.

4. The national exchequer is to contribute as hitherto to every old age and invalid pension, and to every pension of a widow, 50 marks per year and 25 marks to every pension of an orphan.

5. The pensions of widows and orphans, however, will be so small that they can scarcely be called a pension.

6. We are of opinion and this opinion was also held by our party's congress at Leipzig that a reform of the social insurance scheme should have much loftier ideals. Our friends in the Reichstag will therefore propose a complete amalgamation and further extension of the social insurance schemes. This reform should begin by bringing about the unification of the sick insurance scheme. A uniform organisation under the self-government of the insured must be established, including all those working for wages or salary, also all other persons with an income of not more than 5000 marks per year. The sick and convalescent members should be entitled to free medical attendance and remedies, apart from a monetary benefit to the amount of the members' full earnings. Nursing mothers should get adequate support.

The accident insurance funds should be compelled to pay full compensation to the insured and their relatives.

The invalid insurance scheme ought to be developed in such a manner that the full income be insured and that such pensions be paid to enable decent living to the invalids. The insurance of widows and orphans ought to be improved accordingly.

Apart from these schemes an adequate unemployed insurance scheme should also be established.

A social insurance of this kind will certainly require big sums of money, but the people will be able to pay them. All those cases where we should like to give material support by means of the insurance happen whether the people are insured or not. Sickness, accidents, invalidity and unemployment are bound to happen more frequently and for a longer period without insurance. Sickness can be prevented or otherwise, when it happens, it can be quicker and more effectively dealt with, if good therapeutic treatment is provided. Rational treatment of sickness can also prevent many cases of invalidity. One of the principal tasks of the accident insurance scheme should be to provide good safeguarding methods. If properly organised the number of accidents can be reduced to such an extent that even a full compensation would be cheaper than the present accident insurance by which at the utmost two-thirds of the loss is compensated. Unemployed insurance would enable us to get a precise view of the state of the labour market. By regulating the hours of labour it will then be possible to prevent a good deal of unemployment. The support of the unemployed would cost less than is absorbed by unemployment. Many unemployed become criminals and vagabonds on account of misery. Many a girl is driven to prostitution alone by want. Society pays more for criminals, vagabonds and prostitutes than would be necessary to benefit the unemployed regularly.

The biggest sums will be necessary for the insurance of women in confinement, nursing mothers, widows and orphans. — There are about 35 births per 1000 inhabitants per year. These charges are borne at present only by the poorest families, who have the most children. The privations caused by widowhood

and orphanhood at present oppress only the widows and orphans themselves.

Our principle is: sickness, invalidity, accidents and unemployment should be prevented as much as possible, and otherwise their cost, as well as the cost derived from motherhood and the cost of supporting widows and orphans should be defrayed by the whole population. The demands of the second part of our party's official programme are being upheld by our comrades in every session of the Reichstag and of the national Diets in the form of initiative motions. Unfortunately we have only little opportunity of getting them discussed. The Reichstag in every session has only a few days at its disposal to discuss such motions. The succession of these motions depends on the numerical strengths of the various groups. Every group is entitled to say what motion they would like to have discussed first. It happens very seldom that more than one motion of every group is discussed at all. It has become a regular use since a number of years to introduce initiative motions in the form of resolutions when the budgets of the ministers are under discussion. The respective minister is then asked to prepare, as soon as possible, a bill in which the demands of the initiative motion are set forth. These propositions are regularly rejected by the reactional majority; if, however, they happen to be accepted, then they are thrown out by the Federal Council, who perhaps will say that the motion is to be used as material for future legislation.

2. The political movement.

Since the national congress at Stuttgart the political life of Germany has been filled with violent struggles of the proletariat for further political rights. The suf-

frage question has been the centre of all this agitation, i. e. the general and equal right to direct and secret voting for all the elective bodies. The Diets of the various federated states are taken into consideration first for these endeavours.

We have already fully explained in our report to the International Congress at Stuttgart how this movement sprung up in November, 1905, with great vehemence, and it has received an even greater impetus since. The German proletariat has shown in mass meetings and monster street-demonstrations that they will allow themselves neither peace nor rest before they have obtained general and equal right for direct and secret voting. This question has got into full swing now and even our ruling classes recognise that the present state of affairs has become unbearable.

We have universal suffrage for the Reichstag elections for all male citizens of 25 years of age. This so-called equality is however much injured by the growth of population in this country. The present constituencies have been defined in 1867 and nothing has been changed with respect to this division since that time, namely since 43 years. The population has since then declined in some constituencies, for instance in the agrarian parts of Eastern Prussia. Other parts of the country, as the big cities and industrial centres, have at the same time experienced a rapid increase of their population. The constituency Angerburg-Lötzen, in Eastern Prussia, for instance numbered in 1905, 77 373 inhabitants and Ostprignitz in the province of Brandenburg had but 67 307 inhabitants, whilst the constituency Teltow-Beeskow, which includes the western and southern suburbs of Berlin, numbered 959 289 inhabitants. This number

has since increased up to more than 1 000 000, but is only entitled to one member in the Diet. A good many similar examples could be cited which go to prove that the results of our elections in no way give a true reflex of the political tendencies of the electorate.

Our Diets have many very important questions to deal with, for instance those concerning educational matters, also the carrying-out of nearly all Imperial laws. These Diets are constituted on the ground of differing election systems of the various states. Some of our federated states, for instance, Bavaria, Wurtemburg and Baden, possess the general and equal right to direct and secret voting for their Diets. In Mecklenburg however this name and the privileges of a legislative body are given to a corporation which is simply a meeting of the big landowners, that is of the feudal aristocracy, and of representatives of the city councils. There is a large variety of all possible suffrage systems, so that we must refrain from further commenting on them. As one of the results of these systems we have agrarian rule in nearly all the federated states of Germany. The 1907 census shows that in Germany only 17 681 176 Inhabitants or 286,5 out of every 1000 lived from agriculture, gardening, stock-breeding, forestry and fishing, whilst 34 664 776 inhabitants or 561,6 out of every 1000 are dependent on industries, mining, commercial trades and transports. The agrarians all the same rule in nearly every federated state as well as in imperial affairs. This rule is based upon the total absence of privileges for the workers in the election for the Diets and on the difference of dimensions of the various constituencies.

The Prussian Diet consists of two chambers, the House of Lords and the House of Deputies. The

House of Lords is composed of 364 members, including 238 representatives of the high feudal caste, who are born members of this chamber, or have been nominated through noble families, generals and big manufacturers nominated for life, ten representatives of the universities, and fifteen mayors of the big cities.

The House of Deputies consists of 443 members which have been elected under the three-class suffrages. Any decision of this chamber only becomes law with the consent of the lords. The three classes for election purposes are made up in the following manner: every male Prussian who is twenty-four years of age has a right to a vote. If an election is forthcoming then a list of all the electors of that constituency is compiled, indicating also the amount of direct taxes paid by each elector. A fictitious sum of 3 marks is put in for all those who pay no direct taxes because they may own no land, carry on no trade liable to taxation, or have an income of less than 900 marks. The total amount of all the taxes paid by the whole electorate is then ascertained and is then divided by 3. Now those are picked out who pay the highest taxes and whose combined taxes amount to one-third of the total direct taxes paid by the whole electorate. These electors constitute a first class. The same thing is done with regard to those who pay the next highest taxes, who together form the second class, whilst the remainder, namely the large mass of the population constitute a third class of electors.

In the last elections there were 7 682 721 electors on the rolls. They included 293 402, or 3,82 percentage of the total number, first-class electors: 1 065 240 or 13,87 percentage second-class electors: and 6 324 079

or 82,32 percentage third-class electors. Every class nominates an equal number of election men or delegates and these delegates ultimately elect the deputy. Apart from these privileges of the rich, we have also the inequality in the division of the constituencies. There are rural constituencies with one member of Parliament, for less than 8 000 electors, whilst in some urban districts, a deputy is allotted to about 78 000 electors.

A similar preference system has been introduced in 1895 in Saxony with the only difference that the vote was secret, namely by ballot, whilst in Prussia we have a public vote, the elector being compelled to publicly name his candidate. The Prussian government in 1908 gave the formal promise in the king's speech that the suffrage system would be organically developed and would be organised in such a manner as would correspond to the actual necessities of the Prussian people. A bill was indeed introduced into the Diet in February, 1910, which however preserved all the injustices of the present system.

The three-class system and the public vote was not to be altered. It was only proposed to substitute the direct vote for the old indirect vote. Ministers, officers, men with university education, state officials, reservists entitled to civil employment, on account of their twelve years' service, were to be elevated from the third class of electors. This bill and its consequent treatment in the Diet had a most provocative effect on the population, more than the most inflammatory speeches. The Diet then refused the government's proposition, adding also a great number of amendments. They have in no way improved the bill.

This agitation for the general and equal right of secret and direct voting for the various diets had since 1907 rapidly gained in vehemence. Big demonstrations in the streets and mass meetings as they had not yet occurred in Germany, nor, as we might safely say in any other country, have proved the stern determination of the proletariat. There were more than a million workers who assembled on the 10th of April, 1910, in mass meetings all over Prussia.

The old suffrage system has been changed in a number of federated states during the last few years. In the kingdom of Saxony the three-class suffrage system was substituted by a plural system which provided for additional votes, according to age, amount of taxes paid, and so forth. The rich usually have four votes. A plural system has also been introduced in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, but only one additional vote is given there to all electors over 40 years of age. Saxe-Weimar changed the indirect vote for the direct vote.

Late election results show a continuous growth of the socialist movement. Ten bye-elections for the Reichstag have taken place during the last year. In the general elections 1907 the candidates of our party polled in these constituencies 78 656 votes out of a total vote of 294 808. In the bye-elections, however, they polled 96 310 votes out of a total vote of 274 430. We thus increased our vote from 26,7 percentage to 35 percentage of all votes recorded.

Similar results have been obtained in the elections for the Diets. General elections for the Prussian Diet took place in 1908. A comparison of the vote with 1903 gives the following statistic:

	1903	1908
Socialists	314 149	598 522
Conservatives	324 157	354 786
Independent Conservatives	47 975	63 612
National Liberals	256 220	318 589
Liberal Association	16 735	21 993
Liberal People's Party	73 245	98 600
Centre	251 958	499 343
Poles, Danes and so forth	181 356	226 248
Union of Agricultural Landowners	12 548	15 013
Union of Anti-Semites	2 880	8 959
Political attitude unknown	190 390	301 894
Total	1 671 613	2 507 559

In 1903 we were the second strongest party in the country. We had 18,8 percentage of the total votes, but had not succeeded in getting a single seat in Parliament. Numerically we became the strongest party in 1908. We polled 23,87 percentage of the total votes and got 7 of our candidates elected. Four of these elections were later on declared invalid, under the pretext that the officials of the Berlin City Council had not properly compiled the register. We successfully defended 3 of these seats, but the fourth seat was lost.

General elections under the new plural system took place for the first time in the Kingdom of Saxony on October 21st, 1909. Altogether 634 212 electors recorded their votes; 341 396 of these voted for a social democratic candidate, whilst our opponents disposed only of 292 816 electors. These 634 212 electors had, on account of the plural system, 1 273 908 votes. The number of electors and votes recorded for every party were as follows:

	Number of	
	electors	votes
Social Democrats . . .	341 396	492 522
Conservatives . . .	103 517	281 804
National Liberals . . .	125 157	236 541
Radical Liberals . . .	41 857	100 804
Anti-Semites . . .	20 248	55 502

Out of the 91 seats of that chamber, our comrades gained 25.

The general elections for the Diet in Baden took place on the same date. In the previous general elections in that country, our party had polled 50 431 votes. Now this number increased to 80 835 votes and they elected 20 members, instead of 12. A similar progress in the elections for their respective legislative bodies has been made by our comrades in Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg and Saxe-Weimar.

* * *

This movement demands great sacrifices through the present punishing power of the state. The following penalties have been inflicted on comrades of our party on account of advocating our cause, during the last three years:

In 1907: 36 years, 4 months, 2 weeks and 1 day imprisonment and fines to the amount of 30 600 marks.

In 1908: 18 years, 8 months and 4 days imprisonment and fines to the amount of 33 446 marks.

In 1909: 27 years, 10 months and 2 days imprisonment and fines to the amount of 28 750 marks.

Lately, the movement among the juveniles is fiercely prosecuted by the authorities, who continually inflict heavy fines on the representatives of the juveniles.

3. The Organisation of the Party.

The Organisation of our Party, to which we referred at some length in previous reports, has meanwhile undergone some important changes. A new association law has come into operation on May 15th, 1908, of which a short description will be given later on. The new law also allows women to adhere to political parties, which hitherto had only been possible in some of our federated states. The Social-Democratic women have since joined the organisation of the Party all over the country. A uniform minimum subscription for all members of the Party has been established. The parties' associations in the various constituencies will in future be entitled to representation on the parties' congresses, according to their membership.

The manner in which a member can be expelled from the Party has also been changed.

We herewith quote the more important changes that have been made in our rules:

§ 4. Organisations which include female members must allow them representation on their committee. The female committee members have to carry on special propaganda among women, in agreement with the other committee members.

§ 5. The district and national organisations may fix their rate of subscription themselves, providing that the minimum monthly subscriptions is not less than 30 pfennigs for males and 15 for females. At least 20 per cent of the regular subscriptions must be forwarded to the central fund. The Party's executive committee may allow the various organisations a higher amount than 80 per cent of these takings for their local expenses, if the committee of the district or the national organisation agree.

§ 6. The business year for the organisation of the Party extends from July 1st to June 30th. The Presidents of the Social-Democratic Societies have to report annually to the executive committee, not later than July 15th, on a list of queries prepared by the executive. They should at least give details on the form and extension of the propaganda that has been carried on, on the number of organised comrades in their respective constituency. The amount of subscriptions paid by the members, total income and how the money at their disposal has been spent.

A similar annual report on their activity and on the way they spent the money received from the Party's executive, must be prepared by the committees of the district and national organisations.

§ 7. The Party's congress is the chief authority of the Party. Entitled to representation at the national congress are:

1. The Party's delegates of the various constituencies. The number of delegates depends on the number of members. Constituencies with but 1500 members are entitled to but 1 delegate. Two delegates are allowed up to 3000, 3 for up to 6000, 4 for up to 12 000, 5 for up to 18 000 and 6 for more than 18 000. The number of members is calculated according to the number of subscriptions paid into the central fund, as provided by § 5.

A female comrade should, if possible, be amongst the delegates wherever several delegates are elected.

2. The members of the Party's group in the Reichstag.
3. The members of the Party's executive committee, and of the control commission.
4. Special reporters invited by the executive committee. The members of the Party's group in the Reichstag are only entitled to an advisory vote in all matters par-

liamentary. The same is the case with the members of the Party's executive in all questions relating to the business management of the Party. The representatives of the Party's institutions, which have been invited by the executive, are also allowed no vote.

§ 14. The number of the members of the Party's executive is fixed by Congress. The Party's executive consists of two Presidents, a treasurer, the secretaries and three auxiliary members, the latter including a female comrade. The members of the Party's executive committee are entitled to represent each other.

The election of the President, the treasurer, the secretaries, and of the representative of the female comrades must proceed at the congress by means of voting papers, the result of the first ballot being final.

The second ballot between the two candidates with the highest number of votes must take place if none have received the absolute majority of all votes cast.

In case of an equality of votes, the result is decided by lot.

The other two auxiliary members are selected by the control commission. The executive committee has to be constituted immediately after its election, of which proper notice is to be published in the official organ of the party.

§ 23. Nobody can be a member of the party who has seriously contravened the principles of the Party's programme or has been guilty of a dishonourable action. A member can furthermore be expelled for violating the interests of the Party, or for obstinate resistance to the decisions of the Party's organisation.

In case of dispute, the committee has to decide as to the admissibility of a member in the district or national organisation.

The expulsion of a member can only be decided by an organisation of the party (local society or association

covering the respective constituency). The same proposal can only be made by the committee of an organisation with the consent of the accused.

The member in question will be informed of the decision by the district or national committee, which may also eventually publish the decision.

§ 24. Both parties may, if not satisfied with the decision of the district or national committee, demand that arbitrators should be appointed, if such demand is made within four weeks after they were informed of the decision.

Such an arbitration court to consist of 7 members; the accused and the interested organisation appointing 3 members each out of the membership of the district organisation to which the accused belonged. A chairman is then appointed by the executive committee of the party.

The accused is considered expelled from the party if he neglects to appoint arbitrators within a term fixed by the executive committee. Four weeks at least must be allowed for this.

A written judgment will be forwarded by the executive of the Party, who is also charged to eventually publish the decision.

§ 25. Both parties may eventually lodge an appeal against the decision of the arbitrators in the next national congress of the party. This appeal must be addressed to the executive committee within four weeks after the judgment has been forwarded to the parties.

§ 26. A member can be expelled from the party on the ground of Par. 23, Section 1, only in the way prescribed in the foregoing rules.

All committees of the Party are entitled, if they do not definitely pronounce the expulsion, to temporarily exclude a member from all offices of confidence, or to pass a vote of censure. Both parties may also appeal against this decision.

The foregoing regulations shall in no way interfere with the right of the organisations to appoint an investigation committee to investigate the case of a member without proposing his expulsion.

§ 27. Membership of the Party ceases, with death, expulsion, or resignation. In such a case, all privileges that the member may have had, by virtue of his membership, with regard to the Party, the executive committee, the control commission and the individual members, are null and void.

§ 28. A demand for re-admission of an expelled member can only be addressed to the committee of the district or national association, in whose area the candidate lives.

The organisation which had proposed the previous expulsion should be asked for information before a decision is rendered.

The candidate as well as this organisation may appeal against that decision to the next national congress of the Party. This appeal should be lodged with the Party's executive early enough to enable its publication together with other motions to be submitted to the congress.

The associations in the various constituencies for the Reichstag form the base of our organisation. A local branch of the Party may be established in every city if this constituency covers more than one city, but these societies are only considered sections of the association for the whole constituency. The associations of the various constituencies are combined into district or national federations. These federations have their own rules of management, providing they are not contradictory to the general rules of management of the whole Party. Our organisation at present consists of 45 district or national federations, at the head of

each being a separate committee. Every federation has one or two permanent secretaries at its disposal. There are at present 47 district or national permanent secretaries in office.

The district and national federations are in constant relations with the executive committee of the Party. Their advice is always sought for in all important questions relating to their sphere of activity. Special conferences of representatives of the district and national committees are organised in cases of general importance.

The Party has gained a solid footing in nearly all constituencies, except in six purely agrarian constituencies, where we have not been successful so far. The following statement gives a review of the numerical strength of the associations in the various constituencies. The actual number of members at the end of June, 1909, amounted to less than 100 in 77 constituencies of the Reichstag. There are members: from 100 to 200 in 42, from 200 to 300 in 22, from 300 to 400 in 28, from 400 to 500 in 14, from 500 to 600 in 13, from 600 to 700 in 12, from 700 to 800 in 12, from 800 to 900 in 16, from 900 to 1000 in 8, from 1000 to 1500 in 27, from 1500 to 2000 in 25, from 2000 to 3000 in 23, from 3000 to 4000 in 22, from 4000 to 5000 in 6, from 5000 to 6000 in 9, from 6000 to 7000 in 3, from 7000 to 8000 in 2, from 8000 to 9000 in 2, from 9000 to 10000 in 2, from 10000 to 11000 in 2, from 11000 to 12000 in 3 constituencies.

In 7 constituencies there were 14000 to 15000, 15000 to 16000, 19000 to 20000, 22000 to 23000, 23000 to 24000, 24000 to 25000, 26000 to 27000 members respectively.

Our larger associations have been forced to appoint permanent secretaries to deal with their increasing work. 62 constituencies have their own permanent secretaries at the present time.

Developement and numerical strength of the Party.

Business Year	Total number of constituencies of the Reichstag	Number of constituencies with party organisations	Number of localities with organisations of the Party	Membership of the Party			Number of members of our Party in proportion to the number of socialist votes cast for the Reichstag
				Total	Male	Female	
1907	397	325	2704	530 466	519 523	10 943	16,4
1908	397	366	3120	587 336	557 878	29 458	18,0
1909	397	378	3281	633 309	571 050	62 259	19,1

Income and Expenditure of the Party.

Business Year	Income Mk.	Expenditure Mk.
1907	1 191 819,42	1 358 122,39
1908	852 976,10	783 958,13
1909	1 105 249,77	621 202,45

The last general election took place during the business year 1907. This explains the comparatively high income and expenditure of that year.

4. Parliamentary representation of the Party.

Our Party is represented in the German *Reichstag*, which numbers 397 members, by 47 deputies. The bye-elections, which have taken place since the last general election, have shown splendid results to our Party. We have won in these bye-elections 4 seats, namely Landau, Coburg, Halle and Eisenach.

Our Party has furthermore 185 representatives in the *Parliaments of the Federated States*.

State	Number of Deputies	Number of Social Democratic Deputies
Anhalt	36	1
Baden	73	20
Bavaria	163	21
Bremen	150	16
Hamburg	160	20
Hessen	50	5
Lippe	21	1
Lübeck	120	12
Oldenburg	44	4
Prussia	443	6
Reuss	16	3
Saxony	91	25
Saxe-Altenburg	32	7
Saxe-Coburg	30	8
Saxe-Meiningen	24	9
Saxe-Weimar	33	4
Schaumburg-Lippe	15	1
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	16	7
Württemberg	92	15

We have no representation yet in the Parliaments of 6 federated states.

We dealt fully with the activity of the *Social-Democratic party in City and Borough Councils* in our last report. The number of Social-Democratic councillors increases from year to year. Our Party has now 1368 representatives on 300 city councils and 4789 representatives on 1779 rural district councils. We have furthermore 115 aldermen in 38 cities and 159 in 93 rural districts.

5. Feminist Movement.

The Party keeps a "social-democratic woman's bureau" which is to carry on a special propaganda among the proletarian women. The address of this Bureau is the following: Ottolie Baader, Berlin SW. 68, Lindenstr. 3. The Women's Bureau circulates weekly articles on the Feminist Movement to all papers of the Party. Special leaflets and pamphlets, with the objects of social democracy and with criticisms on the political events of the day, are published for the women and girls of the working classes. Female speakers for special propaganda tours are provided for the various organisations of the party. As a result of this activity the number of female members in our political organisation has increased in 1909 by 32 801. They number now 62 259. Special women's reading clubs have been organised in a great number of cities with the aim of providing for a better training of our female comrades. The organ of the socialist women is "Die Gleichheit" (Equality) which had in 1909, 77 000 regular subscribers. The women's bureau gives great attention to the establishment of *Committees for the Protection of Children*. They are composed of women and men of the working classes, organised at the instance of our bureau and the trade unions. These committees provide for the enforcement of legal regulations relating to the protection of children.

Juvenile Movement.

Up till 1908 we had two central organisations of young people, one for Northern Germany and one for Southern Germany. Our new Association law has a very reactionary clause on this matter, this clause

providing for penalties for young people under 18 years of age, if they joined a political society or take part in a political meeting. Our central juvenile organisations therefore have dissolved, whilst in many places unpolitical local societies of young people are still in existence.

The Party, as well as the trade unionists, have bestowed great attention on the juvenile movement during the last few years. Their congresses thoroughly and exhaustively dealt with this question. Our Party's national congress at Nuremburg (1908) voted the following motion with regard to the juvenile movement,

The encouragement of the culture of young male and female workers is a most important task in the struggle for emancipation of the working classes.

This national congress pledges the affiliated organisations to do all in their power that the youth of the working classes be educated in the spirit of proletarian ideas.

With this end in view regular lectures should be arranged, which are suitable to the intelligence of youth. Arrangements for serious and amusing occupations, also sports, recreations and comradeship should also be provided for.

Special committees should be appointed in every locality. They should consist of representatives of the local Party organisation, of the trade union councils and of the young male and female workers. Every delegation must include at least one female comrade.

No fee shall be charged for lectures, nor, as far as this is possible, for all other arrangements.

These committees should engage the trade union councils to do everything for the legal protection of the apprentices.

This congress charges the Party's executive with the publication of a special organ for the education of the youth of the working classes.

The defence of interests on the economic field and the decision in political matters remains solely the task of the trade union and political organisations.

Declaration.

It is to be understood from this resolution that nothing should stand in the way of local unpolitical organisations of the youth who manage their own affairs with the cooperation of adults.

The trade unions passed a similar resolution at their congress at Hamburg which had taken place a little earlier. The juvenile movement in the Germany of to-day has become an important part of our political and trade union movement. Both the party and trade unions work in unison on this field.

A centre for the working youth of Germany, Berlin SW. 68, Lindenstrasse 69, has been established to ensure the execution of the above decisions. The Party's executive, the general commission of the trade unions and the juveniles are represented each by four delegates on this central body. Every group must delegate at least one female member for this purpose.

Committees for the juveniles are in existence in 330 localities consisting equally of representatives of the Party, the trade unions and the juveniles. Their activity circulates within the limits of the decisions of the Nuremburg congress. Special guides for the various branches of activity for these committees have been issued by the Berlin centre, which also furnishes all sorts of propaganda material, chiefly leaflets. The local committees of the centre are in constant relation to each other. A conference of these local committees

for the juveniles has recently taken place, where 129 delegates from all parts of the Empire were present. This conference has outlined the programme for future work.

The "*Arbeiter-Jugend*" (the working youth), the special organ published by the Berlin centre every fortnight has 16 pages. This new paper has met with a good reception among the juveniles. The number of its readers increases continually. It numbers more than 40 000 regular subscribers at the present time.

The costs of this juvenile movement are borne by both the Party and the trade unions together. The total expenses of the Berlin centre amount to about 20 000 marks up till now.

7. Press and Literature.

The number of social-democratic dailies has increased in Germany from 65 to 74, since the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart. They are printed in 56 printing offices owned by the Party. The number of regular subscribers of these social-democratic papers has from 1906 to 1909 risen from 837 790 to 1 041 498. This does not include our monthlies and the "*Neue Zeit*". The income from subscriptions amounted to 6 706 151 marks in 1909 and the income through advertisements was 4 363 761 marks. It must be mentioned, however, that the economic depression resulted in a decline of the amount of subscriptions. Our illustrated paper "*Die Neue Welt*" is added to the Sunday editions of some of our dailies. Its weekly circulation is 475 000. The two humourous papers of the Party, the "*Wahre Jacob*" and the "*Postillon*" have a combined circulation of 250 000. The party's

scientific organ, the "*Neue Zeit*" is now published in its 28th year. Its circulation is 8500 copies weekly. A special propaganda paper for women "*Die Gleichheit*" is published fortnightly, by the Party. "*Die Gleichheit*" had in 1909 a circulation of 37 000. The "*Kommunale Praxis*" has been published since the last three years as a review for municipal socialism and politics, in order to adequately equip the socialist councillors for their many-sided activities. The circulation of this paper is 2700 copies. The speakers of our Party, members of Parliament and editors of our papers, receive free of charge the "*Social-Democraticische Partei-Correspondenz*" ("Correspondence Circular of the Social-Democratic Party") which collects all documents that may be important for propaganda purposes and which furthermore refutes briefly the attacks of dissenting organisations and papers. This fortnightly paper has a circulation of 3000 copies.

Leaflets and pamphlets are issued annually in large numbers by the Party's executive and the district and local organisations. Favourite means of propaganda in many districts are also agricultural almanacs. They are distributed broadcast free of charge. The turnover of the bookselling department of the "*Vorwärts*" has been 522 082 marks in 1906—7; 563 737 marks in 1907—8 and 511 727 marks in 1908—9. The publishing office of J. H. W. Dietz successor at Stuttgart, which is also owned by the Party and which bestows special care on the publication of theoretical Socialist books, has in the year of report published the 50th volume of the "*International Library*".

The "*Social-Democratic Press Agency*" has been established since July 15th, 1908. This agency furnishes

our press with political and trade union news and prepares also extracts of new bills and parliamentary documents. A newsletter is circulated daily to our press and a special news service by telephone and telegraph is established. The annual budget of this press agency amounts to 46 000 marks. The sum of 32 000 marks is contributed by such of our papers as are in sound financial position, whilst the deficiency is met by the central funds. The proposed organisation of a foreign news service could not yet be organised on account of the probable high cost.

8. The Party's School.

The social democratic party of Germany has in autumn, 1906, established in Berlin a permanent Party school.

The first four terms, which lasted six months each, were attended by 26 to 31 students. The candidates for this school are proposed by the district or national federations from their number of male and female comrades who are actively working for our cause. Their applications are laid before the board of teachers whereupon these to be admitted to the school are selected by the executive. The trade unions have also sent several students to the last few courses of lectures, in accordance with an agreement that has been arrived at between the Party and the trade unions. The rooms have been specially adapted for the purpose of this school. The number of lectures in every six months is about 780 to 800. The school curriculum is limited. The student is not to be filled with a mass of un-systematised knowledge, but he shall be able, free

from all everyday cares, and also from all propaganda work for the party or trade union, to devote 6 months purely to the study of social problems. The student is to get in the first instance a thoroughly theoretical schooling. The educational subjects treated of are as follows: Political Economy, Sociology, German History (Modern), History of Socialism, Workers' Right, Penal Code, Civil Law, Natural Science, Municipal Politics, Art of Composition, Oratory, Technics of Journalism.

The material cost of this school, the salaries of lecturers, and the cost of keeping the students during their stay at Berlin are paid from the central funds of our Party. The families of the students receive special grants during the absence of their wageearner from their district organisation. This can easily be borne also by poorer districts, because they get regular subsidies from the central fund. These courses or lectures have afforded for the first terms a total outlay from our central funds to the amount of 203 900 marks.

9. Education.

The national congress of the Party at Mannheim nominated an educational committee, consisting of seven members. This committee gives advice and help to all organisations of our party and provides suitable instructors for scientific lectures and courses, as well as artists for good entertainments. Local educational committees have been formed in all larger cities of the Empire. They are composed of representatives of the local Party organisations and of the trade union councils. In some parts of the country they have formed special district federations. The central edu-

cational committee provides travelling speakers for lectures and courses of lectures dealing with scientific questions, especially the "stages of development of the economic history" and also "Marx' Economic Teachings". One of the new travelling lecturers deals especially with questions of natural science and the history of culture. These courses generally extend to four weeks. They are usually held in three neighbouring cities at the same time, there being eight lectures in each city. The lectures are usually attended by 250 to 300 male and female comrades, whilst from 30 to 40 are usually enrolled for the courses of lectures. In 1908—9, for instance, 57 larger cities and 144 smaller towns have profited from these courses of lectures. 19 instruction and 38 lecture courses have been organised in the same year. They were attended by 8969 comrades including 666 women. The educational committee published furthermore guides for artistic entertainment in the form of regular winter programmes, also introductions to dramatic, operatic and musical works. It is proposed hereby to facilitate the appreciation of performances that are especially organised for the working classes. The same committee has also issued a model catalogue for libraries giving as the basis of a library a set of books to the value of ten marks. The catalogue gives supplementary lists of books, the value of the suggested libraries increasing from ten to 25, 50, 100 up to 500 marks. Another publication of the educational committee is an illustrated catalogue of artistic wall-decorations, in which special attention is drawn to comparatively cheap but first-class lithographic designs of well-known artists. Regularly and shortly before Christmas a catalogue of recommended *juvenile literature* is for-

warded to all organisations. The last year's catalogue included 184 selected books for presents to the children of the proletariat. This list of books has then been reprinted or reproduced by nearly all our political and trade union papers. In larger towns it has become the custom to organise shortly before Christmas an exhibition of recommendable juvenile literature. The educational work has thus in a short period of time become a comprehensive branch of the activities of the social democratic party.

10. The Social Democratic Party and the Trade Unions.

A separate report of the German trade unions has been submitted to congress. The negotiations with locally-organised trade unionists on the question of their amalgamation with the central federations, of which we made mention in our last report, have resulted in about 5000 locally organised comrades joining the central federations. The others remained in the localist societies, adopting entirely the principles of an anarcho-socialist syndicalism. This group is small, however, and of no importance at all in the political and economic movement.

The national congress of our Party at Nuremburg (1908) passed the following resolution in connection with this matter:

"This congress welcomes the amalgamations of local societies with the central federations of trade unions that have been brought about by negotiations.

Those societies, who, in spite of these negotiations, have remained in the field of the free association of

12. The Co-operative movement.

Co-operative societies cannot affiliate to a political party on account of legal restrictions. The German proletariat, however, has given its attention to the politically neutral workers' co-operative societies. The workers have taken a keen interest in the work of these co-operative societies which are politically neutral. The enormous rise in the cost of living and of all articles of daily use has been caused by our protective policy. New indirect taxes indeed compelled the working classes to try and obtain the benefits of co-operation. It is about ten years that the workers, for this very reason, organised special propaganda on a large and general scale in order to induce their fellow-workers to join the co-operative societies en masse. The middle class and liberal leaders of the "General Federation of German co-operative associations" thereupon committed a veritable coup d'état at their congress at Kreuznach (1902); they expelled 99 societies from the federation. The expelled societies organised a new movement and at their meeting at Dresden on May 17th and 18th, 1903, established a central federation of German co-operative societies. The members of our Party are on friendly terms with the last-named central federation.

The Year Book of the Central Federation of German co-operative societies (7th edition, 1909) gives the following statistical details of the actual state of the co-operative movement:

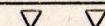
Number of affiliated societies	1 068
Number of societies reporting	1 060
Membership	949 744
Number of shops	2 829
Number of persons employed	14 910

Annual turnover	Mk. 349 728 334
Amount of articles produced by the affiliated societies	" 44 482 900
Benefits	" 21 102 782
Stock	" 36 457 971
Inventory and Machines	" 8 308 435
Book value of land and house property	" 48 500 087
Capital of the societies	" 32 467 578
Borrowed capital	" 51 315 909

The question of tariff agreements between co-operative societies and trade unions has been discussed in 1908, at the Co-operative Congress at Eisenach, as well as at the National Trade Union Congress at Hamburg. Tariff agreements have been concluded with the federation of bakers and with the transport workers' federation. A permanent tariff board, consisting of representatives of trade unions and co-operative societies, has been established for the purpose of settling any differences that might arise.

13. Other forms of organisation.

The various co-operative societies of the workers, so called free subsidiary insurance funds of the workers and so forth, have in Germany no relations with political parties, on account of legal restrictions.



Report of the German General-Commission of Trade Unions on the Trade Union Movement in Germany.

We shall be pleased to act according to the desire of the International Socialist Bureau and give a brief statement of facts, for a complete review of the trade union movement is annually prepared by the international secretary of the national trade union centres.

We have in previous reports, dwelt upon the history, development and various forms of the German trade union organisations. It may therefore suffice to briefly describe the development of the trade union movement in Germany, since the last International Congress at Stuttgart (1907).

„Free“ Trade Unions.

The trade unions have extremely suffered during the last few years of industrial depression. This depression has by far exceeded any previous crisis of a financial nature and these times have imposed heavy burdens on the funds of our trade unions. They had to make all possible financial sacrifices, in order to alleviate the prevailing distress and want among their members to, at least, some extent. In 1907, the central federations reported still an increase in their average membership of 175 797 (as against 344 906

in 1906), whilst they sustained a loss of 75 183 members up to the end of 1908. The *average* number of members has been reduced by 33 775 in 1908. The lowest ebb of the last industrial depression has been crossed at the end of 1908, and a small improvement on the labour market, a decline in the number of unemployed, has gradually been felt in 1909. This somewhat improved state of affairs enabled our central federations to recover the loss in numbers of the previous year. The total membership, which amounted to 1 797 963 at the end of 1908, increased to 1 892 568 up to the end of 1909. This is a net increase of 94 605 members, which goes to prove that the trade unions have fairly well overcome the disastrous crisis. This result is only due, however, to the inner consolidation of our organisations, to the extension and efficiency of their benefit and insurance schemes and, last not least, to their energetic methods in times of dispute.

The number of central federations affiliated with the General Commission of Trade Unions has dropped, from 1906 to 1909, from 66 to 57, on account of the amalgamation of various unions, who now form large industrial organisations, some of our trade societies joined big industrial federations that cater for all the workers in their particular industry. A federation of domestic servants (male and female) and a federation of agricultural workers, foresters and workers employed in vineyards, have been formed recently but, they are not yet included in our statistics, because, they are only in existence since last year.

The following statistical statement gives a review of the development of the “free” or independent federations, their numerical growth, finances and so forth.

The Growth of the „Free“ Trade Unions, from 1891 to 1909.						
Year	Number of central federations	Average membership (throughout the year)		Income		Total funds of the central federations
		Total	females	federations reporting	Mk.	
1891	62	277 659	—	49	1 116 588	47
1892	56	237 094	4 355	46	2 031 922	50
1893	51	223 530	5 384	44	2 246 366	44
1894	54	246 494	5 251	41	2 685 564	44
1895	53	259 175	6 697	47	3 036 803	48
1896	51	329 280	15 265	49	3 616 444	50
1897	56	412 359	14 644	51	4 083 696	52
1898	57	493 742	13 481	57	5 508 667	57
1899	55	580 473	19 280	55	7 687 154	55
1900	58	680 427	22 844	58	9 454 075	58
1901	57	677 510	23 699	56	9 722 720	56
1902	60	733 206	28 218	60	11 097 744	60
1903	63	887 698	40 666	63	16 419 991	63
1904	63	1 052 108	48 604	63	20 190 630	63
1905	64	1 544 803	74 411	64	27 812 257	64
1906	66	1 689 709	118 908	66	41 602 939	66
1907	61	1 865 506	136 929	63	51 896 784	63
1908	60	1 831 781	138 443	62	48 544 396	62
1909	57	1 852 667	133 888	59	50 529 114	60

The improved financial position of the free federations is due to the continually rising amount of members' subscriptions. The affiliated federations report:

Year	On the average per member		
	Annual income Mk.	Annual expenditure Mk.	Funds Mk.
1891	6,68	9,62	2,56
1895	11,53	9,86	6,96
1900	13,89	11,89	11,38
1905	20,68	18,61	14,60
1907	27,55	23,12	17,82
1908	26,50	22,96	22,30
1909	27,57	25,24	23,73

The most important expenditures are, as will be seen from the above list, those for unemployed and sick benefit, apart from strike-pay. The next tabulated statement (see page 52) has been prepared to show the effects of the crisis on the trade unions, and the amount annually spent for benefits, since 1891.

The total expenditure for benefits amounted to 9 363 270 Mk. in 1906, 21 445 030 Mk. in 1908, 22 189 130 Mk. in 1909.

The German trade unions cannot do so much in the way of sick and superannuation benefit as the British trade unions, because provision has been made in Germany for a national and compulsory scheme of workers' insurance to which we referred more fully in our report to the International Congress at Stuttgart. Our unions have all the same established these benefit funds, chiefly on account of the insufficient benefits paid by the national and compulsory funds. Thus the benefits paid by the trade unions constitute a sort of supplementary benefit, to which much attention is given by the workers.

Annual Expenditure of the Central Federations. 7

Year		Legal assistance									
		Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.
Victimised pay		Travelling pay									
		Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.
Unemployed benefit		Sick benefit									
		Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.
Sick benefit		Super-annuation benefit									
		Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.
Burial money, removal allowance, and other benefits		Total									
		Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.
Official journal		All benefits, including cost of official journal									
		Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.
Strike pay											
		Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.
1891	10843	14737	144338	*64290	*	29584	154015	388228	1037789		
1892	9705	236964	382607	357087		1033619	295475	1319094	44943		
1893	12542	28831	328748	220926		986557	292157	1229114	65356		
1894	12902	14630	350455	239750	425489	41744	108497	265957	1350927	188980	
1895	15871	40807	302603	196912	464114	42080	1051887	274398	1326286	25389	
1896	18349	37846	310000	248201	430038	57947	1150718	362708	1513426	944372	
1897	30147	30978	289086	268316	464494	68088	64906	1197960	4392579	881758	
1898	43878	39978	28267	275404	491634	79587	78419	1291667	518967	1810616	1075290
1899	54752	55485	313891	304677	652825	91524	131484	1604088	603559	2207647	212198
1900	68486	97092	461028	501078	656026	113530	205459	2102699	713338	2816057	2626442
1901	89705	198173	607127	1238197	772587	130941	194668	3231398	782737	4014135	1878792
1902	93486	250661	709778	1593022	793887	154398	250129	3846551	798480	4643831	1938829
1903	150721	250310	613870	1270053	944059	189452	301961	3720416	884662	4605078	4529672
1904	205782	536209	646821	1599424	1416935	218624	621709	5241506	1097257	6838763	5868519
1905	311259	486765	712828	1991924	1920639	273960	808355	6497702	1415397	7913099	9674094
1906	342339	795209	2653296	3281741	351181	1181282	9863270	1095279	1594009	13748412	
1907	346773	1010045	869148	4375012	5635387	384562	14066735	1878327	2071297	23516327	1319363
1908	326765	1184353	8184388	8475853	419781	1465627	21445030	24190617	22189130	4819298	4819299
1909	288137	1125829	8588328	8896354	483505	1667284	2001487			6904431	

* Up to 1897, several societies have not reported to the General Commission. Not included in the above statistics are: for 1891, nine federations; for 1892, four; for 1893, eight; for 1894, six; for 1895, five; for 1896, two; for 1897, four. Reports from all affiliated federations are to hand since 1897, although many of these were still incomplete for some years. The total sums spent on benefits etc. are consequently much beyond the figures quoted above.

The expenditure for educational purposes, apart from the cost of the official journals — every federation has an official journal, mostly weekly, which is delivered free of charge to every member — i. e. for libraries, lectures, educational courses etc., were: in 1907, 319 783 Mk.; in 1908, 238 524 Mk.; in 1909, 147759 Mk. The amount available for these purposes, unfortunately, had to be limited during the last years, on account of the increased cost of benefits.

The General Commission publishes its own weekly journal, the „Correspondenzblatt“, which is circulated free of charge to all active trade unionists, committee members etc. This paper has a weekly circulation of 27 000 copies.

Special courses of lectures for Trade Unionists have been organised since 1906, by the General Commission of trade unions, in pursuance of a resolution passed by the trade union congress at Cologne (1905). These courses of lectures have since become a permanent institution. They now extend to a term of six weeks for each course of lectures, whilst those taking part are entirely free from all other work during this time, in order to be able to bestow the whole of their time and energies to their own education and further development.

The following subjects are dealt with by the various lecturers: History and theory of the German trade union movement, dissenting trade unions in Germany, trade union movement in other countries, workers' insurance, protection of workers, labour contracts, political economy, statistics, employers' combines, banks and matters financial, and trade union literature.

The number of students is limited to 72 for each course, of which 15 have been organised since August 1906, and altogether 917 male and female comrades took part.

Wages movements, strikes and lock-outs.

The unfavorable influence of the industrial depression and crises has simultaneously reduced the number of industrial battles, as is clearly shown by the statistics of the General Commission. These statistics are based upon the annual reports of the affiliated central federations. In 1908, 4 474 039 Mk. were spent on strikes and lock-outs, as against 12 364 082 Mk. in 1907. The year 1909 has not been included, the statistical statement for this year having not yet been completed. A tabulated statement has been prepared on the extension and results of strikes and lock-outs covering the period 1890—1908 (page 55).

In 1906, our unions reported 2045 offensive strikes with 183 756 strikers, whilst the number of offensive strikes was only 1635 in 1907, embracing 142 944 workers, whilst this number dropped to 678 strikes with 30 187 workers taking part, in the year 1908. This shows a reduction of 957 offensive strikes or 58,5 % during the last year under review. The employers on their part, however, increased their activity, trying to force the workers to accept more unfavorable labor conditions. The number of defensive strikes has therefore increased, they numbered 834 in 1907, and 1117 in 1908. The increase during the latter year thus amounts to 283 strikes or 39,9 %. The statistical statement on page 56 shows the development and result of these strikes.

Details of Strikes and Lock-outs, from 1890 to 1908

Year	Number of movements taking part	Loss of worktime workers of days	Number of workers reporting	Number of movements reporting	Result			Total ex- penditure Mk.
					per number		percentage	
					success	failure	success	
1890—99	3772	425142	—	3537	1706	834	893	104
1900	852	116711	1223702	852	375	215	217	1 21
1901	727	48522	1194553	38913	727	267	171	237
1902	861	55713	964317	48153	802	350	156	296
1903	1282	121593	2622232	88964	1259	623	239	359
1904	1625	135957	2120154	128700	1576	878	317	349
1905	2323	507964	7362802	414703	2273	1219	534	477
1906	3480	316042	6317675	301590	3418	1838	765	714
1907	2792	281030	5122467	274052	2708	1337	687	614
1908	2052	126883	2045585	105859	2016	891	398	678
	19786	2134557	28973487	1463207	19168	9484	4316	4834
							505	49,5
							22,5	25,2
								—
								70797182

Also: ¹ 2 may-day lock-outs. ² 2 may-day lock-outs, in 2 instances the works were closed up. ³ 2 may-day lock-outs, in 2 instances the works were closed up. ⁴ 4 may-day lock-outs.

Year	Number of		Full success				Compromise			
			strikes		strikers		strikes		strikers	
	strikes	strikers	number	percen-	strikes	percen-	number	percen-	strikers	percen-
Offensive strikes.										
1900	514	86786	237	46,1	27350	31,5	161	31,3	33088	38,1
1901	291	22761	109	37,4	6487	28,5	92	31,6	7241	31,8
1902	289	32659	117	42,4	8011	24,5	71	25,7	17556	58,7
1903	603	53763	281	46,6	17042	50,3	154	25,5	22379	41,0
1904	886	81427	509	57,4	37882	46,5	213	24,0	24428	30,0
1905	1261	333238	722	57,9	47473	14,2	307	24,6	48381	14,5
1906	2045	183756	1121	55,7	91693	49,9	588	26,7	62374	33,9
1907	1635	142944	830	51,7	51344	35,9	472	29,4	53006	37,1
1908	678	30187	312	46,0	10843	35,9	175	25,8	9813	32,5
Tot.	8209	967523	4238	51,7	298134	30,8	2183	26,6	278266	28,8
Defensive strikes.										
1900	792	14295	122	41,7	4670	32,7	43	14,7	1350	9,6
1901	401	17301	149	37,1	4886	28,2	70	17,5	4618	26,6
1902	516	16263	225	43,6	6412	39,4	76	14,7	3835	23,6
1903	597	22067	310	51,8	9929	45,0	73	12,2	2485	11,3
1904	627	23128	387	53,7	12998	56,2	82	13,1	3774	16,3
1905	809	30679	445	56,9	18711	61,0	102	13,1	5481	17,8
1906	1014	38930	575	57,7	18187	46,7	120	12,0	5788	14,9
1907	834	33348	412	51,6	16455	49,3	106	13,3	5466	16,4
1908	1117	36120	525	47,0	16185	44,8	139	12,4	6808	18,9
Tot.	6207	232131	3100	49,9	108433	46,7	811	13,1	41405	17,8

The number of lock-outs has simultaneously declined in about the same proportion. Lock-outs were declared by the employers as follows: in 1908, 257 lock-outs with 60 576 workers involved; in 1907, 323 lock-outs and 104 738 workers involved. The number of lock-outs has consequently declined by 66 or 20,4 %, whilst 44 162 workers or 42,2 %, were less engaged in the last year's lock-outs. The lock-outs and their results have been compiled in the following table:

The lock-outs from 1900 to 1908.

Year	Number of		Loss of		Result				Not yet settled on January 1 st.	Total expenditure
			lock-outs	workers locked-out	number of days	workers reporting	number	percentage		
1900	46	14630	182866	8927	16	11	12	1	2	* 600493
1901	35	8460	124275	6088	9	9	13	1	2	* 283576
1902	56	6791	117196	4910	8	8	25	2	3	* 308023
1903	82	45763	1512771	32066	32	13	24	3	3	* 1798801
1904	112	31402	607286	35579	32	22	32	14	37,2	1870647
1905	253	144047	1797256	135821	52	125	57	9	21,5	4193250
1906	421	93356	2320069	89028	142	107	117	44	33,7	5315079
1907	323	104738	2874772	103596	94	109	91	9	29,4	6147079
1908	257	60576	905949	45838	54	84	102	11	21,0	1823675
Tot.	1585	509763	9942440	461823	440	488	473	97	27,8	22340623

The lasting depression and consequent large unemployment necessarily reduced the chances of success for all industrial movements of the workers. This should, however, in no way give rise to the supposition that the efficacy of the trade union movement really suffers in times of bad trade. During such periods of distress the unions find themselves somewhat on the defence, it being their chief aim then to prevent the deterioration of conditions obtained in previous and more favorable periods. This has indeed been achieved — apart from very few exceptions — to a very great extent, by the German trade unions. More than that, it has even been possible in 1908, when the depression was at its height, to obtain, by means of negotiations or strikes, a reduction of hours for 59 324 workers, amounting to 183 751 hours per week, and a weekly advance in wages of 365 923 Mk. for 236 641 workers. Various other improvements of their working conditions have been procured for 175 687 workers.

Also: ¹ 2 lock-outs on the first of may. ² 12 lock-outs on the first of may. * The bricklayers are not included.

The Trades Unions Councils and Workers' Secretariats.

The German trades unions' councils are local unions of branches of the central federations and of those societies, for whom no central federation exists. Among the special objects of the trades councils are: to carry on trade union propaganda in unorganised trades; to make the necessary preparations for the elections of working men representatives to the various boards of the national insurance funds, arbitration courts etc.; provide and maintain lodging houses for travelling trade unionists, libraries etc. The organisation of collections on a large scale is also incumbent upon the trades councils, if these collections, in the case of great strikes or lock-outs, have been ordered by the General Commission. All moneys received are forwarded to the General Commission for distribution at their own discretion. The number of trades councils at the end of 1909, amounted to 654, of whom 64 had a trades union building of their own. 34 owned also the ground on which their house is built. 30 councils have only rented buildings, 48 councils have their own meeting rooms, 28 have lodging houses under their own management, 303 councils have the control and supervision of private lodging houses for their special purposes. A central employment agency is carried on by six councils, a common library by 464, a separate reading-room by 54. Educational efforts are stimulated by special commissions on education, which have been nominated by 272 trades councils, whilst 284 councils created special juvenile commissions, to carry on educational and propaganda work among the working youth. Legal aid offices have been created by

172 trades councils, they gave free legal advice in 40 226 cases. Permanent workers' secretariats are maintained by 88 councils. These workers' secretariats give free legal advice and help to unionists and non-unionists alike, they prepare the necessary documents and undertake also to personally appear in the courts in cases relating to the workers' insurance scheme, labour contracts and so forth. The number of these secretariats has increased from 83 in 1906, to 112 in 1909. They are entirely maintained by subscriptions of organised labour, with the exception of three offices. The total income, for the 102 secretariats reporting, amounted to 484 316 Mk. in 1909, whilst their annual expenditure reached the amount of 452 037 Mk. The development of these institutions will be seen from the following:

The Workers' Secretariats, from 1901 to 1909.

Year	Number of secretariats reporting	Number of visitors	Number of cases dealt with
1901	29	167 863	173 548
1902	32	195 679	197 927
1903	36	200 575	205 906
1904	48	226 260	238 540
1905	67	283 767	295 374
1906	83	365 132	382 261
1907	96	419 832	438 213
1908	103	488 895	515 039
1909	112	543 304	569 246

The table on page 60 gives a review of the many questions dealt with.

A personal defence of their clients before the courts had been undertaken by 91 secretariats, in altogether 5148 cases. A special Course of lectures

for these workers' secretaries has been organised for the first time in 1909, by the General Commission. This course lasted for four weeks. The number of students had been limited to 25, in order to enable for written exercises to be made. Lectures were delivered on: workers' insurance (20 lectures); common law, citizenship (20 lectures); civil law (20 lectures); criminal law (20 lectures); civil suits and the proceedings before arbitration and commerce courts (12 lectures); protection of workers (16 lectures); labour contracts (24 lectures).

Dissenting trade union organisations.

Apart from the central federations affiliated with the General Commission, we have the following organisations existing in Germany: the trade societies Hirsch-Duncker, the christian trade unions, and the independant and local unions. The following table gives a review of their annual income, expenditure, as well as of their total worth:

All trade union organisations.

Year	Worker's insurance		Labour contracts		Civil law		Municipal or state affairs		Criminal law	
	secret.	number of cases reported	secret.	number of cases dealt with	secret.	number of cases reported	secret.	number of cases dealt with	secret.	number of cases reported
1901	28	46888	28	31149	27	49694	28	14169	27	12923
1902	32	57586	32	32222	32	57595	31	18190	32	14448
1903	36	59756	36	32987	36	58974	36	20247	36	12824
1904	48	71487	48	38760	48	68498	47	19871	48	15526
1905	67	89286	67	48498	67	87018	67	32218	66	21531
1906	83	114920	82	60497	83	12426	83	42234	82	29051
1907	96	130447	95	67597	96	127762	96	57719	96	31838
1908	103	154784	103	73759	103	149114	102	38017	102	33897
1909	112	171375	112	75949	112	164883	112	93151	112	33897

Year	Labour movement		Association laws		Private insurance		Commercial affairs		Miscellaneous	
	secret.	number of cases reported	secret.	number of cases dealt with	secret.	number of cases reported	secret.	number of cases dealt with	secret.	number of cases dealt with
1901	20	13119	—	—	24	21959	—	—	24	13770
1902	27	6167	2713	—	30	23191	—	—	28	9043
1903	31	—	—	—	36	23464	—	—	31	11361
1904	39	3880	—	—	46	25818	—	—	29	10253
1905	55	5297	47	1366	55	2473	51	2271	46	5416
1906	72	10064	62	1016	76	2946	71	2365	80	6542
1907	83	7412	82	986	90	3629	83	2733	76	8081
1908	93	7509	1003	97	97	4889	91	3535	93	11291
1909	103	6676	1481	106	106	6500	101	4369	105	10865

¹ Including association laws. ² Including commercial affairs.

	Membership			1909		
	1907	1908	1909	annual income	annual expenditure	total funds
Central federations	1865506	1831731	1832667	50529114	46264031	43480932
Hirsch-Duncker trade societies	108889	1056333	108028	2806220	2346830	4372495
Federation of christian trade unions	274323	264519	270751	4612920	3843504	5365338
Independant christian trade unions	80437	¹ 80437	² —	—	—	—
Independant and local unions	117325	100081	² —	—	—	—
Total . . .	2446480	2382401	—	—	—	—

¹ Old figure. ² Details for 1909 are not yet known.

The total membership of the *Hirsch-Duncker trade societies* dropped in 1907 from 118 508 to 108 889, and in 1908, to 105 633. This is a loss of 9619 and 3256 members for these two years, although two new societies with more than 1300 members affiliated with the Hirsch-Duncker unions during the latter year. The actual loss is thus even higher. These unions increased their numbers in 1909, by 2395, their total membership being 108 028 at the end of last year.

The financial returns of the Hirsch-Duncker trade societies include income, expenditure and worth of these societies as well as of special benefit societies, who are under their influence. Their combined funds were 4 372 495 Mk. in 1909, including 1 677 464 Mk. worth of the Hirsch-Duncker central trade funds, 186 934 Mk. of the various societies' local funds, 1 234 328 Mk. of the sick insurance funds, and 1 273 770 Mk. of the death benefit funds.

The *federation of christian trade unions* numbered 274 323 members in 1907, whilst in 1906 their average membership had been 27 207 less. They reported 264 519 members in 1908, or a loss of 9804 members. Their total membership amounted to 260 767 at the end of 1908, their annual income to 4 612 920 Mk., their annual expenditure to 3 843 504 Mk., their property to 5 365 338 Mk. The total membership of these unions which are affiliated with the christian trade union centre, shows an increase of 6232 since the previous year. They numbered 270 751 members in 1909, including, however, two newly affiliated societies: the federation of railway mechanics (8920 members) and a federation of waiters (1185 members). The total membership of the christian trade union centre amounted

to 280 061 at the end of 1909, including the federation of railway servants of Wurtemberg (1861 members). In 1908, six independent christian trade unions were not affiliated with the christian federation, but two of these unions have since joined the christian centre, viz.; the federation of railway mechanics and the federation of railway servants of Wurtemberg. No details are to hand as to the position of the other four societies. A mutual help association, which has, up to 1908, always been claimed by the christian centre, has in 1909 joined a newly formed Polish national federation. We have actually no information, whether the remaining small groups can really be styled christian trade unions. As a matter of fact, they have been omitted, for the first time, in the statistical reports issued by the christian trade union centre.

The *independant and local unions* had, in 1908, 100 081 affiliated members, according to the reports to hand, as against 117 325 at the end of the previous year. The apparent loss of 17 240 members has chiefly been sustained by the local unions.

There are quite a number of societies of *private employes*, apart from the above named trade union organisations. In 1908, they numbered 54 federations with 712 528 affiliated members, or, if those affiliated with the Hirsch-Duncker group and with the General Commission are deducted, 49 federations with 678 669 members.

The statistical year-book gives the following details as to the state of the *yellow unions* or blackleg societies. They included in 1908, according to the year-book, 3 local societies with 1015 members, seven

trade federations with 13 613 members and 69 shop clubs with 50 710 members, altogether 79 societies with 65 538 members. Their reported annual income was 347 784 Mk.; their expenditure amounted to 268 871 Mk., and their total assets to 380 574 Mk.

Our employers have vainly tried to induce larger numbers of workers to join these yellow organisations, in spite of the financial assistance they gave this movement, and in spite of the most unfavorable trade conditions during 1908. The employers will never succeed to do great and lasting harm to the labour movement by this sort of tricks, their combined efforts are bound to break to pieces on the well-developed class-consciousness of the German workers. What we anticipated in our report for 1907, has indeed been realised since: the yellow unions afford a sphere of activity only to the very meanest assistants of the employing class, who would never be tolerated within the ranks of the German labour movement.



IV.

Austria.

The Parliamentary Action of the Social-Democratic Labour Party in Austria.

The first elections after the conquest of universal and equal suffrage resulted in the return of 87 Social-Democratic members of the Reichsrat. At the subsequent by-elections two more seats were gained, but one of the elected members having, owing to a local dispute, left the party and resigned his seat, the latter was in the following by-election captured by the bourgeois parties. There are thus at the present moment in the Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrat eighty-eight Social-Democrats, including 52 Germans, 24 Czechs, 6 Poles, 4 Italians and 2 Ruthenians.

All the Social-Democratic members of the House belong to the "Union of Social-Democratic Members of Parliament" which is divided into five national sections: the "Club" of German Social-Democrats, the "Club" of Czech Social-Democrats, the "Club" of Polish Social-Democrats, the group of the Italian Social-Democrats, and the representation of the Rutheno-Oukrainian Social-Democracy. In all questions of an economic, social, political and educational nature the international Union acts as an undivided whole, taking its decisions by a majority of members. As against this the several national groups reserve their complete autonomy in all national matters. Still even so it has hitherto been possible to preserve in important decisions affecting national questions the unity of the general international Union.

* * *

At first, under the impression of our great electoral victory, the bourgeois parties of all nationalities made common cause against us. The representatives of the German, Czech and Polish bourgeois parties have all entered the Beck Government, and Clericals as well as Liberals, Industrialists as well as Agrarians, representatives of the large capitalist as well as of the lower middle-class parties have all united under